

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 02741 01 OF 02 080054Z

71

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

USIA-15 SSC-01 IO-14 OMB-01 SAJ-01 NIC-01 DRC-01 /119 W

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R 071240Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9573

INFO DIA WASHDC

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION NATO

USUN NEW YORK 624

AMCONSUL ZAGREB UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 02741

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT POFR YO

SUBJ: TENTH LCY CONGRESS--AN ASSESSMENT

REF : BELGRADE 2631

1. SUMMARY: CONGRESS COMPLETED RESTRUCTURING OF POLITICAL SYSTEM AND REAFFIRMED BASIC YUGOSLAV IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL POSITIONS. ROLE OF PARTY AND ARMY, AS ONLY ALL-YUGOSLAV INSTITUTIONS, HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED IN LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE. LOCUS OF POWER IS NOW IN HANDS OF THE EIGHT MEN REPRESENTED IN BOTH SFRY PRESIDENCY AND LCY PRESIDIUM, WITH DOLANC ALSO IN IMPORTANT POSITION BECAUSE OF ADMINISTRATIVE  
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PAGE 02 BELGRA 02741 01 OF 02 080054Z

AUTHORITY HE ENJOYS. WHILE A FEW OLD HANDS DISAPPEARED FROM

NATIONAL SCENE, LARGER NUMBER WAS ROTATED INTO NEW POSITIONS IN REPUBLICS. MOST NEWCOMERS SHOW UP ON CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WHICH IS BROAD CONSENSUS BODY. FOLLOWING MAIN THEMES OF UNITY AND CONTINUITY, CONGRESS INSTALLED FINAL INSTITUTIONS AND LEADERSHIP IN PREPARATIONS FOR TITO'S SUCCESSION. END SUMMARY.

2. SUBSTANTIVELY, CONGRESS PROVIDED NO SURPRISES, BUT FOLLOWED CLOSELY SCRIPTS PUBLISHED IN ADVANCE. IN ESSENCE, IT REAFFIRMED IDEOLOGY, INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICIES WHICH PARTY HAS DEVELOPED LAST 20 YEARS: YUGOSLAV SEPARATE ROAD TO SOCIALISM, SELF-MANAGEMENT, PARTY AND NATIONAL UNITY, SFRY'S INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY AND COMMITMENT TO NONALIGNMENT. THESE POLICY PILLARS, OFTEN REFERRED TO AS TITO'S COURSE, WILL REMAIN.

3. PARTY CONGRESS PUT CAPSTONE ON RESTRUCTURING OF YUGOSLAV POLITICAL SYSTEM, NEW STRUCTURE BALANCES NATIONAL GROUP INTERESTS AND INTEGRATES GOVERNMENT, ARMY AND PARTY INTO ONE LEADERSHIP. INTEGRATION IS FURTHERED BY CONCENTRATION OF PROVEN TITO ASSOCIATES IN TOP POSITIONS IN PARTY AND GOVERNMENT AND ENGAGEMENT OF WORKERS IN DELEGATE SYSTEM AND PARTY. WITH LARGER ARMY PRESENCE ON EXECUTIVE BODIES OF PARTY AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENT (WHERE GENERALS NOW HEAD INTERIOR AND DEFENSE SECRETARIATS), AS WELL AS FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION FOR CIVIL AVIATION AND PUBLIC PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE), BOTH NATIONAL AND INTERNAL SECURITY ARE NOW IN MILITARY HANDS. AS ONLY ALL-YUGOSLAV INSTITUTIONS, STRENGTHENED PARTY AND ARMY HAVE TASK OF PRESERVING IDEOLOGICAL AND NATIONAL UNITY OF COUNTRY.

4. GOVERNMENT-PARTY INTEGRATION HAS PRODUCED LCY PRESIDUM COMPRISED OF EXECUTIVES OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, FEDERAL AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES, ARMY AND MASS ORGANIZATIONS. IT IS IN FACT AN INTEGRATED EXECUTIVE BODY OF ENTIRE POLITICAL SYSTEM. ITS MEMBERS ARE TITO'S OLD COMRADES, YOUNGER, PROVEDN PARTY EXECUTIVES, AND THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARIES FOR DEFENSE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS: THERE ARE NO NEW-COMERS. LOCUS OF POWER IS CLEARLY WITHIN PRESIDUM, WITH TITO AT ITS HEAD AND ITS CORE THE OTHER EIGHT MEMBERS OF SFRY PRESIDENCY (STAMBODIC, ZARKOVIC, MIJATOVIC, BAKARIC, KARDELJ, KOLSEVSKI, HODZA, AND DORONJSKI).

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PAGE 03 BELGRA 02741 01 OF 02 080054Z

5. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (EC) APPEARS TO HAVE FUNCTIONS WHICH ARE MORE ADMINISTRATIVE THAN POLICY, WHEREAS THE PREDECESSOR EXECUTIVE BUREAU APPEARED TO ACT MORE AS AN INNER CABINET OF OLD PRESIDUM. ASSIGNMENT OF DUNCTIONS TO SIX EC SECRETARIES IMPLIES THAT, LIKE FEC, IT WILL HAVE OPERATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY BASED ON BROAD DECISIONS OF LEADERS WHO MAKE UP CORE OF PRESIDUM. EC MEMBERS HAVE VARIED BACKGROUNDS: SOME APPEAR TO BE MOVING UPWARDS ON POWER SCALE OR TO HAVE BEEN CHOSEN FOR

ADMINISTRATIVE COMPETENCE. JOINING OLD EXECUTIVE BUREAU HANDS -- DOLANC, BILIC AND KURTOVIC -- ARE LESS WELL KNOWN GRICKOV FROM FORMER LCY STANDING CONFERENCE, MIRKO POPOVIC FROM SERBIAN ASSEMBLY, AND SRZENTIC FROM SECRETARIAT OF MONTENEGRIN PARTY. DOLANC, AS THE EC SECRETARY, AND OTHER FIVE SECRETARIES WITH PORTFOLIOS WILL SIT ON PRESIDUM AND SHARE IN POLICY DECISIONS. DOLANC IS DESCRIBED AS SECRETARY OF THE EC, WHILE THE OTHERS ARE DESCRIBED LESS PRESTIGIOUSLY AS SECRETARIES IN THE EC FOR SPECIFIC DUTIES. OTHERS WITHOUT PORTFOLIO ARE MESIHOVIC FROM OLD PRESIDUM, SUKRIJA FROM LCY STANDING CONFERENCE, KUKOC FROM DEFSEC AND PARTY ORGANIZATION OF JNA STAVREV FROM SKOPJE ASSEMBLY, DUSAN POPOVIC FROM NOVI SAD LC AND VIDIC FROM FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMISSION OF STATE PRESIDENCY. LAST SIX APPEAR TO HAVE LOWER POSITION IN POWER STRUCTURE.

6. LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE IS BROAD REPRESENTATIVE BODY. ITS MEMBERSHIP CAN BE BROKEN DOWN INTO PRESIDUM AND EC MEMBERS, REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONALITIES AND ARMY, WORKERS (ABOUT 20 PERCENT), ENTERPRISE MANAGERS (10 PERCENT) AND ABOUT 12 INTELLECTUALS, PROFESSIONALS AND FORMER DIPLOMATS. REMAINDER MAY BE PLACED UNDER GENERAL HEADING OF PROFESSIONAL POLITICIANS. ABOUT 96 OF 165 MEMBERS ARE, LIKE MEN ON PRESIDUM AND EC WHO CONSTITUTE HALF OF THIS NUMBER, EXPERIENCED PARTY EXECUTIVES FROM OUTGOING FEDERAL AND REGIONAL PARTY BODIES. OF 69 NEWCOMERS, WHO WERE NOT IN PROMINENT POSITIONS PREVIOUSLY, 31 ARE WORKERS, 12 ARE POLITICIANS, 8 EACH FROM ENTERPRISES AND MILITARY FORCES, 6 ARE FROM INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITY AND TWO FROM DIPLOMATIC SERVICE (MOJSOV AND BABIC). FOREIGN SECRETARIAT FURTHER REPRESENTED BY MINIC.

7. NOW THAT ALL HIGH LEVEL JOBS IN NEW POLITICAL SYSTEM ARE FILLED EXCEPT POSSIBLY FOR SOME AMBASSADORIAL POSTS, DROP-OUTS CAN BE IDENTIFIED WITH MORE ASSURANCE. OF FORMER FEDERAL CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 BELGRA 02741 01 OF 02 080054Z

GOVERNMENT PRESIDENCY, PAPIC (B&H), MICUNOVIC (MONTENEGRO), KLADARIN (CROATIA), MINCEV (MACEDONIA), CRVENKOVSKI (MACEDONIA) AND STAMENKOVIC (SERBIA) FAIL TO APPEAR IN ANY MAJOR OFFICES IN NEW STRUCTURE. CRVENKOVSKI'S STAR WANE WITH THE FALL OF OTHER LOCAL LEADERS -- TRIPALO, NIKEZIC, AND KAVCIC. FORMER FEDERAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT TODROVIC (SERBIA) AND ASSEMBLY VP'S DJURICIC (B&H), VLAHOV (MACEDONIA) AND KOMAR (CROATIA) (LATTER IS RUMORED IN LINE FOR AMBASSADORIAL POST) ARE OUT. ALL OF LCY EXECUTIVE BUREAU REMAIN IN HIGH OFFICES EXCEPT AVRAMOVIC AND POSSIBLY SOSKIC (SEE BELOW). EIGHTEEN OF OUTGOING PRESIDUM HAVE NOT APPEARED IN NEW OFFICES, MOST PROMINENT OF WHOM ARE AVRAMOVIC, DOLNICKAR (RUMORED TO BE ON WAY OUT LAST YEAR - BELGRADE 2917, JUNE 29, 1973), RIBICIC, SIROKA AND TODOROVIC. ONLY 20 OF 68 MEMBERS OF LCY STANDING CONFERENCE SURVIVED INTO NEW ERA; MOST NOTABLE OUTS ARE KOSOVAC, BLUM,

PAVICEVIC, AND PASIC.

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 02741 02 OF 02 071411Z

71

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

USIA-15 SSC-01 IO-14 OMB-01 SAJ-01 NIC-01 DRC-01 /119 W  
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R 071240Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9574

INFO DIA WASHDC

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 2741

8.IT IS STILL MOOT QUESTION WHETHER MANY OF THOSE WHO LEFT  
TOP PARTY POSITIONS FOR JOBS IN REPUBLICS WERE DOMOTED.  
REDUCTIONS IN SIZE OF STATE PRESIDENCY AND LCY PRESIDUM,  
COMBINED WITH PARTY POLICY OF MOVING MORE WORKERS INTO  
TOP ORGANS NECESSITATED REMOVAL OF SOME OF OLD GUARD TO  
REPUBLICAN PRESIDENCIES, PARTIES AND OTHER POSITIONS. FURT-  
HERMORE, THERE HAS BEEN AN INFORMAL PATTERN OF ROTATING RISING  
PARTY FUNCTIONARIES BETWEEN REGIONAL AND FEDERAL POSITIONS.  
RIBICIC IS NOW LEFT WITH ONLY HIS SLOVENIAN SAWP AND LCS  
PRESIDIUM FUNCTIONS, CLEARLY A STEP DOWN, DUT DRAGOSLAV  
MARKOVIC'S SIDE-STEP TO PRESIDENT OF SERBIAN PRESIDENCY,  
SOSKIC'S TRANSFER TO PRESIDENT OF MONTENEGRIN ASSEMBLY, AND

SPIJAK'S CHANGE TO PRESIDENT OF CTUY MAY ONLY MEAN CHANCE  
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PAGE 02 BELGRA 02741 02 OF 02 071411Z

TO ACQUIRE ADDITIONAL EXPERIENCE WHILE WAITING FOR HIGHER POSITIONS TO OPEN UP. OTHERS IN OLD PRESIDUM WITH CHANGED STATUS ARE BALTIC, MARKOVSKI, RAMADANI, SILJEGOVIC, VLAHOVIC, VUJADINOVIC AND BELOVSKI, ALL OF WHOM HAVE BEEN DEMOTED TO MEMBERSHIP MERELY IN NEW LCY CC: DENKOV REVERTED TO SECRETARY OF LC MACEDONIA, POSITION HE HELD CONCURRENTLY WITH MEMBERSHIP IN OLD PRESIDUM, HAFNER IS NOW MEMBER OF SLOVENIAN LC PRESIDUM; KRAJGER IS PRESIDENT OF SLOVENIAN PRESIDENCY AND RISTIC BECAME SECRETARY OF LC LOSOVO.

9. WHILE ALL FORMER REPUBLICAN PARTY PRESIDENTS REMAINED IN PLACE, THEIR SECRETARIES WERE MORE MOBILE: ZVICER AND SRBOVAN WERE MOVED TO REPUBLICAN PARTY PRESIDUMS. VRHOVEC IS IN LCY CC, GRABCANOVIC WAS PROMOTED TO NEW VP OF LCY B&H, AND SRZENTIC IS IN NEW LCY EC. LAZIC, WHO BECAME SECRETARY OF SERBIAN LCY ONLY IN JANUARY, DENKOV (MACEDONIA) AND SETINC (SLOVENIA) REMAINED IN PLACE.

10. RATIFICATION OF NEW CONSTITUTION AND INSTALLATION OF NEW GOVERNMENT, WHICH WAS COMPLETED IN MID-MAY, AND INAUGURATION OF NEW PARTY STRUCTURE AT CONGRESS ARE TITO'S ULTIMATE POLITICAL CREATION AND LEGACY. EVEN THOUGH HIS HEALTH APPEARS REMARKABLY GOOD FOR AMAN OF 82, THE PRECENTAGES WOULD NOT APPEAR IN FAVOR OF HIS OUTLASTING THE FOUR-YEAR MANDATE OF THE NEW POLITICAL SYSTEM. ALTHOUGH HE HAS UNLIMITED TENURE OF OFFICE AS BOTH PRESIDENT OF PARTY AND COUNTRY, FACT THAT TITO IS NOT IMMORTAL WAS DRAMATIZED MOST RECENTLY LAST WINTER WHEN HE DROPPED OUT OF SIGH FOR SEVERAL WEEKS ON DOCTOR-ORDERED REST. AFTER LEADING COUNTRY THROUGH FOUR YEARS OF CHANGE AND UNCERTAINTY, INCLUDING EXPERIMENTATION WITH NEW GROUP LEADERSHIP, WEEDING OUT OF GOVERNMENT AND PARTY LEADERSHIPS AND SEARCH FOR MENAS TO ENGAGE MASSES IN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DECISION MAKING, TITO HAS PRESIDED OVER INAUGURATION OF COLLECTIVE DEvised T SUCCEED HIM AND COMMITTED TO HIS POLICIES.

11. RECENT STATEMENTS OF LEADING YUGOSLAVS SUPPORT THIS ASSESSMENT. TO QUESTIONS ON SUCCESSION, THEY HAVE STRESSED CONTINUITY OF INSTITUTIONS AND POLICIES. DOLANC, ON EVE OF CONGRESS, TOLD FOEIGN PRESS THAT NO HEIR APPARENT WOULD BE NAMED AND NONE IS NEEDED -- AN IMPLICATION THAT GROUP SUCCESSION  
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PAGE 03 BELGRA 02741 02 OF 02 071411Z

HAS BEEN PROVIDED FOR. ALTHOUGH HE COULD BE AROUND LONG ENOUGH  
TO RESIDE OVER ANOTHER REFORMATION, TITO CANNOT COUNT ON IT.  
MEANING OF CONGRESS AND EVENTS WHICH PRECEDED IT IS THAT HE  
HAS PREPARED FOR INEVITABLE DAY WHEN HE MUST GIVE UP POWER.  
JOHNSON

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PARTY LINE, POLITICAL PARTIES, PARTY MEETINGS, PARTY LEADERS, PARTY ORGANIZATION, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 07 JUN 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** golinofr  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
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**Reference:** BELGRADE 2631  
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**Review Authority:** golinofr  
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30 JUN 2005

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**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
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**TAGS:** PINT, PFOR, YO, LCY  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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